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ABSTRACT

Historically, the dominant culture in the United States has, consciously or inadvertently, attempted to assimilate minority cultures -- hence, the term "melting pot". Yet despite several centuries of systematic Americanization, there remains a definite cultural mosaic in the United States. In the post-Melting Pot Era, such terms as Chicano, Mexican American, Spanish, Latino, Hispano, and Spanish American have been used interchangeably to refer to a person of Spanish, Mexican, and Indian descent. This ambiguity in usage exists because social realities, the complexities of intra-group dynamics, and different sub-group life styles have been disregarded. There is further confusion and misus. because of the preferred label usage self-imposed by the people themselves in different geographical areas. Ideological differences, social class status, socioeconomic status, age, and politico-social consciousness are overriding factors. All "raza" types participate in varying degrees and intensity in "El Movimiento". This paper sorts out some of the "raza" types, shows "raza" group interaction and thereby differentiates between the sub-groups, and discusses "El Movimiento" activities (usually dismissed as militancy) by other "raza" than Chicanos. (Author/NQ)

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"Historical Basis for a Raza Typology"

By

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15 November 1974

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What has been labeled as United States Manifest Destiny and the acquisition of colonies by the European powers has at least one commonality--the politico-economic domination of non-White peoples. In the instance of the United States, this neocolonialism was the occupation of the northern part of Mexico, the Phillipines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and periodically other small nations in the Caribbean and Central America. Cuba severed the umbilical cord in 1959. The Phillipines achieved independence in 1946. Our Good Neighbor Policy freed our small neighbors to the south. But Puerto Rico and the north of Mexico yet continue in the americanization experiment. In the latter, in retrospect the significance is that two minority cultures were added to the United States: The Mexican and the Indian. This paper will treat the former.

Historically, minorities and minority cultures have not fared well. Consider the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks, the Jews by the Nazis, the many diverse groups by the Russians, the French in Canada by the English Canadians. [1]It is almost axiomatic that dominant cultures, consciously or inadvertently, assimilate or attempt to assimilate minority cultures--hence, in the United States the term "melting pot." [2]However, there are global instances of resistance as can be seen in the White-Black struggle in South Africa and in the Protestant-Catholic de facto war in Northern Ireland. Further, within the United States there remains a definite cultural mosiac despite several centuries of systematic americanization. The American Southwest is pock-marked with such enclaves of resistance.

In the post-Melting Pot Era, repeatedly we hear terms such as Chicano, Mexican-American, Spanish, Latino, Hispano, Spanish-American, et cetera used interchangeably to refer to a people of Spanish, Mexican and Indian descent.

In the current Zeitgeist, in the political circus, the name "Chicano" is bantered about as glibly and popularly as "Black" instead of "Negro." There is ambiguity in usage because the categorizers disregard social realities, the complexities of intra-group dynamics, and different sub-group life styles. Also this ambiguity is the result of what Ralph Vigil has so aptly labeled as the failure of books written about Mexican-Americans "to provide historical orientation."[3] Further, confusion and misuse exist because of the preferred label usage self-imposed by the same people in different geographical areas. Interfaced with the latter are ideological differences, social class status, socio-economic status, age, and politico-social consciousness as overriding factors.

I do not purport to add to the corpus of facts per se. Instead, through re-interpreting recent and current history, I will attempt 1) to sort out some the raza types to establish proper use of "Chicano" which is heavily laden with surplus meaning; 2) to show raza group interaction and thereby differentiate between the sub-groups; 3) and to illustrate in what we call El Movimiento activities (usually dismissed as militancy) by other raza than Chicanos.

I

Conquest has been a prinicple means of establishing caste. In the post-1846 era, in what had become part of the United States, the necessity of administering the newly conquered territory resulted in a society of classes organized as perceived by the conquerors:[4] a landed and merchant class used in coalition with the former colonial landed class for means of control; the Indians (Pueblo and nomadic); and the Mestizo and acculturated Indian peones who were laborers, sheepherders, and semi-skilled workers. [5] The result was a hostile tradition and servile functions imposed on the conquered, while the conquerors enjoyed a consciousness of cultural superiority[6] when in fact they may have been only superior in the conduct of war.

For la raza, the "natives", all non-Indian and non-White occupants of the region,[7] it was a confused period of readjustment.

The changed world of the Mexican people now in the United States constituted a psychological environment that produced even further curious changes in behavior. La raza was a conquered people.[8] Everything communicated reinforced that domination: through the English language and the Anglo Society it expressed; through conversation and gestures, through unconscious communication. An integral part of this communication was the self-awareness and the demanded role-assumption on the part of both the conquered and the conquerors.[9] For the native citizenry, it was an extremely negative message.

In many ways this impact period on la raza was parallel with the post-World War II period on the European peoples: Post-war France from 1948 to 1958, the Algerian question, the writings of Camus and Sartre. Review the literature of the period; it reinforces the idea that there was a psychology of defeat. Then, soon thereafter, there was a post-War literary production and subsequently existentialist philosophers, all of which serve to extend this contention. Another parallel was the post 1898 era in Spain: with the final loss of Spanish colonies, no longer an empire, the Spanish people were shocked into a period of disillusionment out of which emerged the illustrious literary generation of '98. There was however, one significant difference: the conquerors in the European example, the Allied Powers, reserved no effort in the post-War reconstruction process. This was not the case in the Southwest. Compliance and acculturation were demanded. Statehood was even postponed because progress was slow.[10]

II

The reaction to the americanization program is a special movement that stems from dissatisfaction with the social order of Mainstream Society and a refusal to be absorbed. Today, we refer to this as El Movimiento. To understand the

roots of this phenomenon, it is necessary to review the sequence of events that date back to the middle of last century: El Movimiento, first of all, began as a protest against being assimilated. The first resistance was to the English language, Protestantism,[11] the alien judicial system that dispossessed people of their land, and finally the territorial status that made a farce of the promises made under the United States Constitution. Resistance continued through a variety of means--from passive resistance to the night riders, the Gorras Blancas who pulled down fences, the outright rebelliousness of the Juan Nepomoceno Cortinas', the Joaquin Murietas', and the Manuel Cortez'[12] It also meant attempts to elect representatives to Congress to present the la raza case. It was a National Liberation Movement against the domination of White society, the oppressor to be thrown off.

El Movimiento combated occupation. In regions like Northern New Mexico, names like gabacho (used first to designate foreign Frenchmen who migrated in to trap fur-bearing animals) and gringo (used after the 1846 invasion) were and are still regularly used to refer to non-Raza.[13] This indicates in the mind of the people using such names, that the individual, to whom the name is applied, is a foreigner. Hence occupation in 1974 may yet be inferred. The same conclusion may be reached by the use of the name "Mexican" to refer to themselves by people residing in East Los Angeles; they still associate themselves with Mexico. Extending this even further, Anglos who use the term "Mexican" to refer to La Raza are also telling them that they view la raza as being foreign.

Then, on the positive side, El Movimiento, particularly in the recent four decades, is a demand for equal rights and privileges, a self-assertion and political maturity honed from the experiences of having defended the adopted patria on foreign soil.[14] After World War II, Korea, and particularly Viet Nam, Chicano veterans

and others read into the Declaration of Independence more than the obvious political theory. The promise of a right to a "pursuit of happiness---" would no longer continue as a latent possibility. As a people, La Raza began to achieve visibility; as individuals, began to gain recognition. But most significant was the internal process that began to demonstrate what has been labeled as the new awakening--a nationalism process![15] This nationalism involved much more than political, social, or economic independence: It meant the reforming and revamping of the civilization, the re-establishing Spanish language, the Catholic religion, the mores of La Raza, and on and on![16] El Movimiento is a Third World nationalism of self-determination much like the Anglo-American struggle for independence that began in the 17th century with the religious freedom question, that intensified as resistance to economic oppression grew, and that finally precipitated in the 1776-1789 declaration of political independence. The initial struggle began back in the 17th century; it was just the war that began in 1776. While frequently viewed as just a political undeclared war, it is a battle that has been and is being conducted on many fronts. El Movimiento is another Irish Republican, or IRA struggle but even more than just a religious and political battle. It is a South African racial struggle for survival![17] But it even extends beyond that example: It is a Boxer Rebellion against the occupation by a foreign power. The chafing, the festering, the slow-burn anger of a people that began in 1846, intensifies with the passing of each year.[18]

There is a division and there are diverse philosophies within the Movimiento much as there was within the Revolution of Anglo-America. In the latter, of the

total population that lived in the Thirteen Colonies, at one time no more than a third wanted absolute separation from England. Of the diverse types, each worked in its own individual endeavor--but for the common cause. The elitist and other patrician families were distinct from the so-called street rabble of Boston that fomented and precipitated crises after crises. The Tom Paines and the Thomas Jeffersons were the essayists who operated at a different level. Of course there were many instances of in-fighting and bickering[19] Likewise, within the Movimiento, there are many who lead the demonstrations, who write books as do the George I. Sanchez', who start third party movements as have the members of El Partido de La Raza Unida,who lead grape and lettuce strikes as do the Cesar Chavez'. To conclude that only Chicanos and Chicanos only pursue courses of violence is erroneous.[20]Whether an individual may or may not call himself a Chicano is irrelevant; the activity may be a Chicano activity. All are supportive of El Movimiento. There are the descendants of the patrician families, the sixteen or so that owned what became New Mexico, the old California families. Naturally, they look back with pride in accomplishment to their heritage. Among these too, are co-laborers within El Movimiento. Furthermore, for one faction to label another vendido simply because of a disagreement on strategy to achieve what is actually the same objective, is inexcuseable.

We refer to individual development within raza nationalism as concentizacion.[21] This nationalism occurs at differing rates and degrees with different individuals. Awareness is not executed by fiat; it is a growth process. The nationalism of la raza has been occuring since the conquest of 1846; In a greater sense El Movimiento is a struggle for the minds of a people.

There is an inferred ideology of El Movimiento which constitutes important appeal which is collectively affirmed by la raza.[22] Scattered in hetrogenous statements, more recently it is being presented formally: El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan. Plan of Santa Barbara, the national bilingual legislation, the New Mexico bilingual/bicultural law passed in 1969, the Chicano and Mexican-American Studies educational program in the schools and universities, and so forth.[23] These all constitute a literature outlining problem areas, proffering solutions, and even uncertain definitions in contrast to Mainstream America. A final illustration of El Movimiento ideology is the determination to restore the Spanish language--bilingual and later almost as an afterthought, bicultural education. In part this aspect of the movement is advocated by the intense nationalists and by the intelligensia. Consider, for example, the national meeting on bilingual/bicultural education last November in Albuquerque sponsored by the NEA and the National Task Force de la Raza where hundreds of teachers attended. On the national level again, considerable attention in HEW given to this newly identified problem area: Public Law 93-380 approved last August 21st was appropriated upwards of $75 million dollars. One last remark on ideology, "the ultimate test of how central a belief is, is not its position in the logical structure or its objective importance, but the way it is perceived by the believer."[24] El Movimiento, of course has many more personal meanings to the followers. According to sociologist James C. Davis, people will not participate in a revolution, unless they believe that improvement is possible.[25] For a raza member to join this movement, he must be aware of the americanization problems, want to resolve them, and be convinced that El Movimiento offers possible solutions.[26] The actions of thousands as I stated earlier, reaffirm El Movimiento.

Having identified the more salient aspects of El Movimiento and some of the different raza philosophic responses to it, it becomes apparent that raza may be subdivided into at least several more precise types.

Another consideration that must be assessed is the alienation factor, a direct result of the earlier section as developed on the psychology of conquest. In determining a typology, sub-group affiliation, it appears that one of the fundamental characteristics that must be established is the degree of social alienation. To evaluate the types that will be subsequently presented, I propose here criteria that may be termed as an awareness-alienation taxonomy. In this taxonomy there are seven levels or gradations-five negative below the neutrality axis and two above it on the positive side. These levels may be viewed as a range of possibilities in a continuum of affective development. Both raza and Anglo cultures are treated in this taxonomy; the dual attitudes of the individual toward both or a combination is significant.

The lowest negative point is one in which the individual displays intensely negative emotion toward all members of the dominant culture which is, of course, Anglo American Mainstream Society, and who disapproves of any raza cooperation with Mainstream. Then there is the individual who shows disapproval or a negative commitment toward the racially or culturally different and who generally condemns or stereotypes. The next gradation on the on the continuum is antipathy or dislike toward the culturally or racially different. The next level of behavior is the individual who shows sensitivity or awareness which is a very low level of positive behavior toward someone from Mainstream Society. The last negative step is one which connotes emotional commitment, empathy or sympathy toward Mainstream Society at the expense of his own cultural background. Passing over to the positive side, the first step is where the individual acquires and demonstrates

a general knowledge of his own and Mainstream Culture. The second and highest level is where the individual displays a detailed knowledge of the mores and cultural behavior variables of his own culture and mainstream society, yet is willing to modify his own behavior without jeopardizing his own culture.[27]

Considering the events of the 1846-1974 historical period and prevailing trends, and raza self-awareness, and cognizance of dominant society, and the taxonomy, raza is channeled into fundamentally three tracks: Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, and those who are further subdivided into a Spanish-Hispano-Spanish-American category. All other classifications such as latino, or Latin-American or Mexican appear to be synonymous with one of the basic three types.

IV

The first of the types that I have identified is the acculturated.

It is not widely acknowledged but the 1776 revolt was not for the establishment of democracy in the New World. That came later on. One could not imagine the Virginia aristocratic, patrician families of the Tidewater accepting the small farmer of the Piedmont as their equal. Neither did the patron class of New Mexico, nor did the wealthy landed families of California accept the Indian or the Mestizo as an equal.[28] Under the patina of mythological colonial grandeur, there subsisted in a state of vile servitude the people. The wealthy families listed themselves with pride as castizo, of pure blood lines meaning no mecegenation, and often claiming a geneology dating back to the conquistadores, no less.[29] The colonial tradition of being pro-White (Spanish or other European), and anti-Indian was deeply ingrained. The patron class that dominated the lower classes, once the Anglos arrived, quickly formed an alliance and collaborated in many instances with the recently arrived oppressor in land frauds, etc.[30] The mescengenated, colonial masses were again the object of colonial racial discrimination.

White Anglo-Americans shared the same disdain for the half-breed, for mescegenation. Today the upper class raza descendants do not empathize with the Mestizo who proudly, in most instances, acknowledges his Indian ancestry.

The growth of Democracy in the nineteenth century had its impact on la raza too.[31] As Anglo America learned about equality, so did brown America. The Chicano movement is such a democratic movement. It embraces all raza. It demands fulfillment by all raza. It assumes a common enemy--the gringo. It is a counter-racist surge. Those who do not comply are harshly labeled as vendido or no-concentizado, sell-outs or those politically naive or unaware. The colonial hierarchy based on color, pedigree, and wealth, is summarily dismissed. Though it is inconsistent, also excluded are Cubans, other Latin Americans, and Puerto Ricans; especially inconsistent when an obvious affinity is demonstrated for the socio-political thought Jose Vasconcelos and when the Third World struggle is supposed to also include Aztlan.[32]

The descendents of the prestigious colonial families still frequently have difficulty in accepting democratic levelling. It was difficult in the 19th century and it still is, just because both are raza?[33] Obviously more attractive has been and is to continue the laison with the controlling Anglo class.

In reviewing the Spanish-Hispano-Spanish-American designation, it appears that the three neames may be synonymously used but in different regions and there is substantial evidence of auto-acculturation. Pressure from society leads to assimilation. Raza can become a different self by immersing "in the mirror image reflected by others," by acting the person accepted by Mainstream Society. This self-rejection, focuses on color and nationality and hence community.[34] For the person who may not physiologically appear distinctive or different, it is relatively easy to "pass for White." For the distinctive, the mestizo, the recourse must be "my family descended from the conquistadores; we are Hispanos, Spanish." [35]

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This mestizo demonstrates his obvious shame of his Indian heritage by introducing himself as "Spanish." On the part of White Society, it is even considered to be polite to call raza "Spanish." How many times have raza heard by some demeaning Anglo, "You don't look "Spanish?" and especially when it is meant as a compliment? (Here allowances must be made for Spanish immigration from Spain during World War I.) Most significant about this raza sub-group is the image it strives to project. It is through community relationships with other that one has being, context, self-realization in the social situation. Individuals and groups of individuals constantly react, adjust, against society. To quote social psychologist George H. Mead:

> "We cannot realize ourselves except in so far as we can recognize the other in his relationship to us. It is as he takes the attitude of the other that the individual is able to realize himself as a self."[36]

An example would be expressions of nationalism and patriotism to enjoy a sense of superiority or common recognition over others of similar background who may therefor be deemed inferior.

In this part is an unconscious adjustment, but basically it is a reaction. Individuals perform as they are seen by others and as they are expected to perform, and as they see themselves. This is the "looking glass self."[37]

In the Spanish-Hispanic-Spanish-American category, acculturation continues as an obvious pattern of behavior by some raza. On the continuum this subgroup would be rated as below the axis on the negative side: Those who hold their own culture to be of less value than that of Mainstream Society.

The second and thrid types, the Mexican-American and the Chicano, are in many ways closely interrelated. The unique combination of the degree of alienation and the degree of activism are what separate the two. First, I want to consider the Mexican American.[38]

The use of the name "Chicano" is relatively recent; however, individuals displaying the kind of behavior with which we associate Chicanos have been around for over one hundred and twenty-five years. And for that period of time, they have been involved in this liberation movement--El Movimiento. Consider, for instance, Taos in 1847. Much like those Yankee farmers who gathered at Lexington and Concord to fight the British army, the Mexican people fought the United States occupation army. They were Mexicans and later Mexican-Americans.[39]

All revolutions have their firebrands, their Sons of Liberty. The peppery young people who organized on the university campuses MECHA, CASO, UMAS, etc., the demonstrators who lead the protests against lettuce and grapes are the raza Sons of Liberty. These are the ideal candidates to participate in a Boston Tea Party. They are the intense Samuel Adams', the Patrick Henry's and the Tom Paines' of la raza. Agitators all:[40]But also there are other firebrands whose impact can in no way be denigrated. I refer to the George I. Sanchez' and the Ernesto Galarza's who give El Movimiento an exhiliarating sense of unity through their writings. Through the written page many an intellectual revolutionary has distended conservatives who in 1776 and 1974 deplore the "rule of violence," the status quo upended. These Mexican-Americans were and are as much activist as the Chicano youth take pride in being, which brings us to the question of senority:[41] In revolutions often there is a clash of one generation against another, youth against age. Even raza criticizes the marching Brown Berets. The LULACS and the G. I. Forum, early vanguard raza defenders, Mexican-Americans, are upset when Chicano young people flaunt the Mexican flag in the face of the Establishment.[42] In turn, for not joining in their protests the firebrands upbraid the older generation as having sold out to the gringos.

The application of the taxonomy here would show several sub-variations--from the negative antipathy or dislike toward Mainstream Society to the positive understanding of ones own culture and that of Mainstream Society. The historic stance, the pre-Chicano period, would tend to be increasingly negative.

One of the more important factors that separates Chicanos from Mexican-Americans is alienation. Within the Chicano category there are those completely alienated for whom Mainstream Society is absolutely intolerable; all the government officials are corrupt, socialism is to be preferred to capitalism, all Whites discriminate, the two party system is obsolete and therefore the Partido de la Raza Unida alone offers hope, etc.[43] From this stance has evolved a kind of elitism: in many circles, "Chicano" has come to mean those who are the only true believers, the activists. Mexican-Americans and other raza are assimilated which, of course, is bad. They are dismissed from El Movimiento as vendidos, sell-outs.[44] The best example of this self-styled counter-elitism again is the Brown Berets.

Where on the taxonomy spectrum does the militant fit? How does one explain the rampant destruction of property, the riots, the violence of Albuquerque in the summer of 1971, of Denver, of East Los Angeles in the 1940's? What about the university protests and the occupation of campus buildings? Were these the actions of Chicanos? Just Chicanos? Mexican-Americans?

Chicanos are charged with being militant. They wear army fatigues (many are Viet Nam veterans). They apply tactics and strategies learned from the Blacks in the 1960's. They respect "Che" Guevara who wore a beret and who was a revolutionary, and Third World revolutionary who advocated land reform. At Tierra Amarilla, the name of "Che" Guevara was widely used; so was the label "Communist."[45]

But then Guevara and other Latin Americans were also fighters against neo-colonialism. The riots in Albuquerque, San Antonio, Denver, and other places were associated with the riots in Detroit, Newark, Watts, etc. And race riots had to be the work of militants. Remember how violence was employed in the Tierra Amarilla courthouse raid? This is the Chicano fight against the impervious buddhas of insensitivity.

Mainstream Society produces minority inadequately socialized and alienated people. It appears that the young of the World War II generation criticize the diligent efforts of their parents to "integrate" into Mainstream Society. They earned the right in World War II and Korea and they intend to make the promises good. But their children are critical in large part because their parents were and are sterile, and because they themselves took part in the Viet Nam imbroglio. Instead they look to "Mexican culture", as evidenced by the flag, the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, etc., as their own--and as a reaction.

Often these individuals are also caught up in the national societal alienation trend of young people that are so frequently seen on the university campuses championing causes that vary from campus to campus.

Chicano Studies and Mexican-American Studeis among other programs were the result of Chicano protests. Intuitively, Chicano young people identified the K-12 curriculum vacuum insofar as raza is concerned. The education for affective development, the need to see to the emotional as well as the intellectual development of minority students, continues to be carelessly ignored as educational administrators through sleight of hand conceed the Chicano Studies placebo instead of seriously confronting the underlying, basic problem of alienation. Usually the parents do not understand any better than do their peers of the World War II generation the supposed militancy on the part of the young people.

One parent recently told me, "These young Chicano radicals...we fought for years to be moved from the 'Other' category in the census to 'White.' And now here we are placed in a new special category, 'Mexican-American.' I am an American."

These young people, socially alienated, are estranged from Mainstream Society and its environment much as Hegel and Marx saw man estranged from others and his work because of the Industrial Revolution. The pathogenic effect reinforces this process of self-estrangement.[46] Here we are considering the extreme,[47] an alienation that rejects actuality in favor of creating a mythological history--Aztlan, etc.[48] Fabrication and fanticizing are necessary and to be skirted. Instead, there is the need to study and research and complete the deleted, the ignored, and misconstrued history. The powerful promises of a created glory cannot substitute for a fair share of the American cornucopia.

The educational system must better function to develop the affective as well as the cognitive. Alternative education--Deganiwidah-Quetzalcoatl, Colegio Jacinto Trevino, Colegio Cesar Chavez, Tlatelolco, etc.--only serve to emphasize their importance and need.

Depersonalization and low self-esteem, as having been the object of acculturation for over a century, are evidenced in this disassociation and reactive withdrawal. It is the obvious result of a sector of people without a sense of history and yet enigmatically determined to not tolerate this historical disenfranchisement.

The Chicano, this compulsive non-conformist sector, was not born alienated, but rather conditioned by Mainstream Society. The refusal of Chicanos to participate, the Blow-outs, etc.,[49] the refusal to cooperate, may be interpreted as a new declaration of freedom or independence.

Needles to say, this last type is the most alienated or least integrated into Mainstream Society. Unfortunately, this does not also mean it is the most cognizant of its own culture.

Reiterating, I ascertain several conclusions: First, raza sub-types do exist and it is a mistake to treat all as a single monolithic entity. Second, all raza types participate in varying degrees and with varying intensity in El Movimiento. Third, minority self-assertion should not be interpreted as being "anti-American." Fourth, the americanization experiment continues yet today with, in addition to raza, Eskimos, Native Americans, and others as the largely unknowing target population. Fifth, acculturation and alienation and even militancy are interralated and demand further in-depth study. And lastly, through historical osmosis, we continue to feret out the problems of the past, which still trouble us, for resolution today.

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FOOTNOTES

[1]Today, the teaching of French and French Canadian culture is a controversial issue in areas of Canada like Montreal.

[2]McWilliams, p. 105.

[3]Ralph Vigil, "The New Borderlands History: a Critique," New Mexico Historical Review XLVIII: 3(1973), p. 194.

[4]Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organizations: A Study in the Larger Mind, (Charles Scribners Sons; New York, 1929), p. 221.

[5]Cooley, p. 222.

[6]Ibid.

[7]George I. Sanchez, "Stepchildren of a Nation" in Forgotten People best illustrates this confusion.

[8]Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico, (Greenwood Press; New York, 1968 edition), p. 132.

[9]Cooley, p. 221.

[10]Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912," NMHR, XIV: 1(1939), p.4.

[11]See chapter XIII of Leonard Pitt, "Catholicism in a Medium State," The Decline of the Californios, (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1966), pp. 214-228.

[12]Pitt, p. 81.

[13]Pitt, p. 935.

[14]Raul Morin, Among the Valiant (Borden Publishing Co., 1966); also see Kaye Briegel, "The Development of Mexican-American Organizations", in Manuel Servin, (ed.) The Mexican Americans: An Awakening Minority, (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970), p. 170.

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[15]As developed earlier in the paper, the movimiento parallel is close to the Anglo American experience. "Tocqueville's remark, that it is impossible to imagine a more venomous hatred than that which the Americans feel for the English, will not astonish any student of nationalism." Hans Kahn, American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay, (Collier Books: New York, 1961), p. 38. Further it should not surprise any that raza antipathy toward Anglo America is deep.

[16]See "Chicano Voices" in Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, The Chicanos (Hill and Wang; New York, 1972) for a description of the literary figures, Chicano publications, and colegios.

[17]Pitt, "Race War in Los Angeles, 1850-1856," pp.148-166.

[18]Sanchez, p. 29.

[19]There are many parallels in the organizational processes, the public meetings, of the Founding Fathers of the Republic and the Chicano Conventions on Culture and Land Reform, regional conventions of the Partido de la Raza Unida, etc., The Continental Congresses, the state constitutional conventions, the Constitutional Convention were all preliminary to concerted action. Colonial representatives, many with local colonial government service experience, had the opportunity to exchange ideas, debate issues, to in essence forge the bonds of national unity. In this age of electronic media, the heated debates of the Chicano conventions created an aura of confusion and divisiveness. It is not unusual for walkouts to occur. Actually the same 18th century fusion is being accomplished as common problems are discussed, commonalities are agreed upon, and strategies are determined. The common enemy of course continues to be cultural assimilation. For the most part, however, there is an obvious lack of consistent direction on a national or even regional plane. No single personality speaks for or represents la raza. Apparently, the great debate must continue yet for a while.

[20]In the 1840's raza was organizing, boycotting, and striking--in all creating the same consternation for Anglo-America that Chicanos do today.

[21]See "Corky" Gonzalez, "Crusade for Justice" in Meier & Rivera, Readings on La Raza (Hill & Wang; New York, 1974), pp. 243-247.

[22]Theresa Aragon de Shepro, "Chicanismo and Mexican-American Politics," No. 2 monograph, Centro de Estudios Chicanos, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, p. 1.

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[23]Hans Toch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements, (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965, New York), p. 21.

[24]Toch, p. 24.

[25]"Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review (February, 1962), p. 6.

[26]Toch, p. 11.

[27]This continuum is adapted from a pioneering study made by Dr. Frank Angel entitled "An Exploration of Some Differing Conceptualizations of Bilingual Education and Their Implications and Consequences," presented in January, 1974 at Pasadena, California.

[28]Daniel T. Valdes, Political History of New Mexico Vol. I (Unpublished manuscript, 1971) pp.1, 30..

[29]Ibid., p. 3.

[30]Ibid., pp.51-54.

[31]Ibid., p. 79-84.

[32]This is the case except when it comes to counting the number of "Spanish-speaking individuals for determining HEW funds distribution.

[33]The logical extension in this line of reasoning would be to embrace the Indian as a brother. This will be a hard step to take inasmuch as the Indian was an enemy long before the Anglo arrived in the southwest.

[34]Cooley, p. 221.

[35]Frederick A. Weiss, "Self-Alienation: Dynamics and Therapy," in Eric and Mary Josephson (eds.) Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society, (Dell Publishing Col., Inc., New York, 1962), p. 471.

[36]George H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society, (The University of Chicago Press; Chicago, 1934), p. 194.

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[37]Mead, p. 194.

[38]Sterotype literature has been around since before Erna Ferguson. El Grito has been especially active combating this: Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences," Part I (1912-1935), El Grito: A Journal of Mexican-American Thought (Spring, 1970); Part II (1936-1970), El Grito (Fall, 1970); Octavio I. Romano, "Minorities, History, and the Cultural Mystique" and "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans," El Grito (Fall, 1968); Octavio I. Romano, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of the Mexican-American," El Grito (Winter, 1969); Francisco Armando Rios, "The Mexican in Fact, Fiction, and Folklore," El Grito (Summer, 1969); Jose De Anda, "Mexican Culture and the Mexican-American," El Grito (Fall, 1969); Miguel Montiel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican-American Family," El Grito (Summer, 1970); Octavio I. Romano, "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos," El Grito (Fall, 1970).

[39]Ralph Emerson Twitchell, The Leading Facts of New Mexican History, Vol. II, p. 259.

[40]Valdes, pp. 23-26.

[41]Edward J. Casavantes, A New Look at the Attributes of the Mexican-American, (SWCEL publication; Albuquerque, 1971) arrives at certain Mexican-American characteristics, traits, and attitudes for a cultural definition.

[42]The well defined thrust is into the Establishment. Read for example Elvira Valenzuela Crocker, "Forging Paths in Power and Profit," Agenda (Spring, 1974) pp. 16-21. Agenda is the quarterly publication of the National Council of la Raza.

[43]A parallel here is to be found in C.E. Simpson, "The Ras Tafari Movement in Jamaica: A Study of Race and Class Conflict;" Social Forces, 34 (December, 1955), p. 169.

[44]Maria Gutierrez Spencer, "A Bilingual/Bicultural attempt in Silver City," in Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education (Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers: Lincoln, Nebraska, 1973), pp. 10-12 illustrates raza teachers from the World War II generation fighting like Chicano youth for obvious raza programs.

[45]Read any of the El Grito del Norte (Española, New Mexico) to glean this Third World affinity.

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[46]Weiss, p. 464.

[47]The degree to which the alienated will accept improbable promises of raza leadership reflect the extent to which life has become intolerable. Within the Chicano category there are those completely alienated, for whom Mainstream Society is absolutely intolerable. A parallel here is G.E. Simpson "The Ras Tafari Movement in Jamaica: A Study of Race and Class Conflict" p. 169.

[48]Vigil. passim.

[49]Ray Santana, "East Los Angeles Blowouts," in Parameters of Institutional Change..." pp.1-9.